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Anne W. Wheaton, Associate Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE TODAY MADE PUBLIC THE
FOLLOWING EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN
THE PRESIDENT AND THE HONORABLE MANSFIELD D.
SPRAGUE, CHAIRMAN, THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON INFORMATION ACTIVITIES ABROAD

January 9, 1961

Dear Mr. Sprague:

I have read with deep interest the conclusions and recommendations of the Committee on Information Activities Abroad which were submitted to me with your letter of December twenty-third.

I am impressed by the comprehensive nature of the study conducted by your committee and the breadth and vision which characterize it. As you know, I am asking that study be started on it at once by the departments and agencies involved in the matters it covers. Also, I am having it placed in the permanent records of the Government readily available for future use. With much of the report, and a great many of its conclusions and recommendations, I am in full and instant accord. Certain other conclusions and recommendations will of course require, and receive, further consideration. Altogether, I think it is a document of exceptional value to an informed understanding of this subject, and for this reason have determined to put as much of it as possible into the public domain. Your committee was not asked to make an unclassified report and indeed you have dealt with many things which must remain classified in the interest of national security. Even with these omitted, however, it deserves -- and I hope will receive -- wide attention.

There are certain of your conclusions and recommendations which merit particular notice. The first of these has to do with the emphasis on the total U.S. information effort, particularly in Africa and Latin America. I share the committee's view that there should be continued expansion of these activities, carried out in an orderly way so as to permit the preparation of sound plans and the recruitment and training of qualified personnel.

Also worthy of serious attention is the stress laid by the committee upon the training process so that those members of the Government who engage in operations may fully understand the broad policy considerations which underlie our programs and be fully equipped to act in the total interest of the United States.

There would be, I hope, general acceptance of the view that in the long run the soundest program of all might well be the one to give assistance to educational development. Such a program should of course be well defined in scope and timing before extensive commitments are made.

We have long recognized the values in the programs of exchange of persons, and serious attention should be given to your committee's recommendation that they be expanded, particularly with African countries. Also, I fully agree that improvement in planning and making arrangements for exchange personnel while they are in this country is a most desirable goal.

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In our foreign programs, there will be wide agreement as to the importance of giving careful attention to the impact of program actions on foreign opinion both in the formulation of policy and in the execution of programs. It is my hope that all agencies and departments will continue to take appropriate organizational and training measures to this end. As your committee properly points out, appropriate emphasis also must be given to public opinion in the field which we have traditionally looked upon as formal diplomacy.

There is little question in my mind that the creation of the Operations Coordinating Board was a major step forward. I think it has well justified its existence and I would hope that it will be continued as an important element in the national policy machinery. In any event, I share the judgment of your committee that regardless of any changes that may be made in this machinery, the functions now performed by the Operations Coordinating Board must continue to be provided for.

Finally, I express my personal thanks to you, and through you to the members of your committee and to the committee staff, for the long and arduous work devoted to the preparation of this study. I know of the tremendous amount of time you and your colleagues have devoted to this constructive effort. The country is indeed indebted to you all.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

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December 23, 1960

Dear Mr. President:

I am pleased to submit herewith the Conclusions and Recommendations of your Committee on Information Activities Abroad. During the past several months, in accordance with your letter of December 2, 1959, we have carried out a comprehensive survey of what we have called "The United States Information System". We have also considered the psychological aspects of United States diplomatic, economic, military and scientific programs which have impact abroad. Likewise, we have reported on several of the activities of private groups and institutions bearing upon foreign attitudes toward this country.

This Committee effort is the second special study initiated by you to help shape the evolution of policies and programs in a new and increasingly important aspect of United States foreign policy. Like the President's Committee on International Informational Activities, chaired by Mr. William H. Jackson, we have tried to be completely objective and non-partisan. We have approached our task not as special pleaders for informational and related programs but have attempted to relate them to the total responsibilities of government in the international field.

We have consulted numerous persons in government, both within the departments and agencies represented on the Committee and elsewhere. We have also attempted to give weight to the views of knowledgeable persons outside government.

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We have taken the view that an ad hoc effort of this kind should avoid intensive investigation of particular operating problems, but should concentrate on overall policies and programs. We have tried to provide guidance and a coherent foundation of criteria and concepts which will have continuing value to operating officials in dealing with concrete problems.

The timing of this study is highly appropriate. Developments on the international scene in the course of our work have continuously re-emphasized, even dramatized, the relevance and significance of the problems you assigned to us for study.

The Committee has brought a rich background of cumulative governmental and private experience to its work. Out of such experience, plus the deep and occasionally differing personal convictions of its members, a survey has been produced which we trust will have validity and utility in the trying years ahead.

As you will see from our recommendations, the Committee has formed three general conclusions:

- a. On the whole, the United States informational system and efforts to integrate psychological factors into policy have become increasingly effective;
- b. The evolution of world affairs, the effectiveness of the Communist apparatus, and the growing role of public opinion internationally confront us with the necessity of continuing improvement in this aspect of government, on an orderly but urgent basis.
- c. This will involve the allocation of substantially greater resources over the next decade, better training of personnel, further clarification of the role of information activities, increasing the understanding and competence of government officials to deal with informational and psychological matters, and improvement in the mechanisms for coordination.

While recommending greater efforts and expenditures, the Committee is mindful of the importance of balanced budgets. Informational programs must be looked upon as part of the total National Security effort. If this requires greater sacrifices by the American people, we believe that they should be enjoined to make them.

During the course of our deliberations a number of salutary actions have been taken within government in areas under discussion by the Committee which otherwise might have resulted in specific recommendations. Even with respect to some of the recommendations made by the Committee, we understand that action is already being initiated. The Committee has been encouraged in its efforts by such concrete examples of initiative and forward thinking.

The Committee has received the full cooperation of various government agencies. We have been greatly impressed by the contributions of many able people in government who on their own time and without extra compensation prepared special materials for us.

The Staff of the Committee, whose names are later appended, have rendered outstanding service. Without their able and conscientious help this study would not have been possible. Especially we should like to commend Mr. Waldemar A. Nielsen, Executive Director, who was loaned to us by the Ford Foundation. His assistance was of the very highest order of competence and dedication.

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I should like to note that in addition to the valuable contributions of the individual members of the Committee, the alternates for the representatives of the Departments of State and Defense and for the Directors of the Central Intelligence Agency and the United States Information Agency have been extremely helpful throughout. They are, respectively, Raymond A. Hare, Haydn Williams, John A. Bross and Abbott Washburn.

The Committee will place in the custody of your Assistant for National Security Affairs an organized collection of staff papers which contain information and analyses which should be of reference value to the operating officials concerned with informational and psychological matters. These working papers should be treated as such and not as having been officially approved by the Committee.

Joining with me in forwarding the following chapters are the other members of the Committee: George V. Allen, Allen W. Dulles, Gordon Gray, Karl G. Harr, Jr., John N. Irwin II, C. D. Jackson, Livingston T. Merchant and Philip D. Reed.

Respectfully,

MANSFIELD D. SPRAGUE

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HIGHLIGHTS OF RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE PRESIDENT'S
COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION ACTIVITIES ABROAD

The report of the President's Committee on Information Activities Abroad was transmitted to the President by Mr. Mansfield D. Sprague, Chairman, on Saturday, December 24, 1960. The Committee, which began its work in mid-February 1960, has made a broad study of the U. S. information system including official mass media activities, cultural, educational and exchange programs and programs designed to expose and combat the world-wide subversive and propaganda apparatus of the Sino-Soviet Bloc. In addition, the Committee has considered means of maximizing the constructive effect on foreign opinion of all U. S. foreign policies and programs.

Seven of the major recommendations of the Committee are summarized below:

1. The scale of the total U. S. information effort will have to be progressively expanded for some time to come. There is urgent need for substantial increases in the critical areas of Africa and Latin America. The Executive Branch should seek Congressional approval for orderly growth of these activities to permit the preparation of sound plans and the recruitment and training of qualified personnel.
2. The expansion of training programs is a fundamental requirement. Long range efforts should be made on two fronts: broad training in the informational and psychological aspects of policy for officials in various government agencies whose programs strongly affect foreign opinion; and specialized training of staffs directly engaged in informational programs. In addition to in-service and specialized training programs, greater use of cross-assignment between information and non-information agencies would be helpful.

The Committee also recommends that consideration be given to the establishment of a National Security Institute under the National Security Council to provide high-level training in dealing with the interrelated aspects of the present world struggle for top officers from economic, diplomatic, information and military agencies. However, if it is judged impossible to create a separate institute, the Committee recommends that consideration be given to broadening existing training institutions.

3. The Committee recommends a new approach in developing a major program of assistance to educational development abroad. Such a program would contribute to economic, social and political objectives and would serve to identify the U. S. with one of the great universal human aspirations -- education. The proposed program might include the initiation of such projects as assistance in building and equipping model schools, laboratories and libraries abroad as symbols of American help; the creation of new regional institutes and training centers in such fields as public administration, agricultural technology and the management of enterprises; the development of large mobile training centers to provide basic skills in health, agriculture and mechanical trades to thousands of trainees at a time; the contribution of funds for "opportunity scholarships" to enable young people in various countries on the basis of open competition to acquire an education; a program of training for young Americans to work abroad in performing such tasks as school teaching and assisting in village development. Two members of the Committee felt that the program suggestions needed further definition as to scope and timing.

The Committee suggested a study of the possible usefulness of creating a new quasi-independent foundation for international educational development to give voice and leadership to the broad program.

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4. Exchange of persons programs should be expanded, particularly with African countries. However, it is essential that steps be taken to improve the handling of exchangeees while in this country. The goal should be to give every student or leader brought here individual attention and training specially tailored to his interests and to the needs of the country from which he comes. This goal implies the expansion and financial strengthening of our specialized exchange agencies; the creation of an adequate nation-wide system for hospitality to foreign visitors based on the voluntary help of local citizens and groups; and the provision of special courses and guidance for foreign exchangees in our educational institutions.

Exchanges with the Soviet Bloc countries should be continued, with such expansion and governmental financing as may be appropriate.

5. U. S. economic assistance agencies, scientific research and development programs and the military establishment exert enormous influence on foreign opinion as a result of their activities. The Committee believes that in all these programs it is important to give careful attention to the impact on foreign opinion both in the formulation of policies and the execution of programs. While the opinion factor will not be the controlling element in most substantive decisions, in every case it deserves to be taken into consideration along with other relevant factors, economic, military and political.

Within the Government this concept needs to be more widely accepted and applied more vigorously and consistently.

6. We are now in a period when the mission and style of diplomacy is changing. These changes reflect technical developments in transport and communications, the growing role of public opinion in world affairs, and the practices of the Soviet propaganda apparatus. Our diplomacy increasingly must give greater emphasis to the factor of public opinion in the handling of major conferences and negotiations, in the selection and training of members of the Foreign Service and in our treatment of foreign visitors.

7. The Committee in commenting on the over-all structure of national policy machinery concluded that as far as information activities are concerned the creation of the Operations Coordinating Board in September 1953, represented a major step forward. In the judgment of the Committee, whatever changes may be made in national policy machinery the functions now performed by the OCB must continue to be provided for. The best means of doing this would be to continue the OCB and to more fully recognize and realize its potentialities. In accomplishing this, continuing strong Presidential interest in making the OCB effective is the crux of the matter.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION ACTIVITIES ABROAD

I. Introduction

The 1960's may prove to be one of the most convulsive and revolutionary decades in several centuries.

Some of the underlying forces have been set in motion by scientific progress, and such progress can be expected to continue. Ninety per cent of the scientists who have ever lived are alive today; and the resources which will be devoted to research in the next ten years will equal the total for all past years since the beginning of history.

If progress is driving one wheel of the world transformation now underway, the consequences of backwardness are driving the other. Half the people on earth still live under conditions of hunger, disease and ignorance; but they have become conscious of the possibility of improvement and are now in active, often violent, struggle to improve their condition. In this vast awakening are infinite possibilities for constructive change and equally great potentialities of danger.

The Soviet Union, having now acquired great industrial and military strength, is pressing hard its drive for expansion and ultimate world domination. The prospect is for a period of protracted non-military conflict between the Free World and the Communist system. This conflict will reach into every portion of the globe. Its background will consist of the presence within the Communist Bloc of massive conventional military forces and the availability of great nuclear striking power. Its foreground will be characterized by the continuous employment by the Communists of economic, diplomatic and informational instruments as well as of subversive and conspiratorial action.

One of our basic problems will be to help in the development of forms of government in Asia, Africa and Latin America which will promote stability, discipline and economic advancement without undue infringement of individual liberties. It will be extremely difficult to accomplish this unless we can find more effective means to deal with the world-wide Communist apparatus dedicated to the destruction of free government.

The eventual outcome of the struggle, assuming that general war can be avoided, and that Communist subversion can be countered, will depend in considerable degree on the extent we are able to influence the attitudes of people.

The steadily mounting force of public opinion in world affairs is evident in all parts of the world, the developed and less developed countries, and to a degree even in the totalitarian areas. In the Sino-Soviet Bloc, where public opinion in the democratic sense is ineffective, it nevertheless cannot be wholly ignored by the regimes. If nothing else, it determines how far the screw of oppression can be turned without the outburst of revolt. Its rising force is explained by the growth of literacy and education, the introduction of new and wider channels of communication, and the spread of the democratic idea. The trend is perhaps most vividly symbolized by the United Nations, a diplomatic arena in which the economic and military power of the participants plays an important part in the outcome of issues, but in which world opinion is almost equally influential.

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The changing styles of diplomacy also reflect growing concern with groups beyond official circles. From the formalized government-to-government communications of the classical past, we have now witnessed the advent of epistolary diplomacy, electronic diplomacy, summit diplomacy and unofficial diplomacy -- not to mention undiplomatic diplomacy.

The United States is concerned with its general prestige in the world and its image as a dynamic and progressive society not out of national vanity but because the effectiveness of our leadership on crucial issues is involved. Today it is recognized that unless governments effectively communicate their policies and actions to all politically influential elements of foreign populations, their programs can be impeded and their security placed in jeopardy.

This Committee has addressed itself fundamentally to the question of improving U. S. performance in reaching and influencing opinion abroad. We have dealt with this question in two distinct but related parts: improving the effectiveness of information, cultural, exchange and educational programs as such; and improving our efforts to shape our foreign policies and programs so as to maximize understanding and support and minimize resentment, confusion and opposition.

Since World War II, the principal overseas information agency of the U. S. Government has been renamed six times and reorganized four times. It has in the past been subjected to great year-to-year variations in its appropriations, much to the disadvantage of long-term programs, effective planning, and needed personnel development.

A mere listing of some of the principal characteristics of the information system will indicate how heavy and difficult some of its problems are. It embraces a wide variety of mass media, cultural, educational and exchange programs. The scale of activity must be large enough to meet urgent requirements in every major region of the globe; no politically significant area can be ignored. Operating responsibilities must necessarily be distributed among several agencies, whose efforts in turn must be coordinated. The system must have affirmative as well as defensive capabilities -- sound and vigorous programs in all media for the presentation of U. S. policies and programs, and facilities to counter the moves and expose the purposes of the Soviet apparatus. It must have strategic as well as tactical capabilities -- the ability to build enduring relationships with foreign leaders and institutions and at the same time handle daily issues effectively. Yet it cannot be muscle-bound. It must accurately reflect the content of foreign policy, yet preserve the qualities of humanness, quickness, subtlety and lightness of touch.

In recent years great progress has been made in strengthening the U. S. information system. Staffs have been professionalized, effective media organizations have been built, and arrangements for coordinating information programs with foreign policy have been improved. Such progress must continue, for the demands placed upon the system will increase rapidly in the years ahead.

Although our informational and cultural activity will continue to play a valuable supporting role, it is American policies and actions, far more than official information programs, that will influence attitudes. "Actions speak louder than words" is a maxim which applies abroad as well as at home.

The Committee therefore believes that world opinion should be fully considered in the development of policies and programs -- diplomatic, economic and military -- which have impact abroad. There are cases in which opinion considerations are secondary; there are other cases when they are of great moment. The necessity is that they be considered along with and on the same footing as other factors in the formulation and the execution of

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foreign policies and programs. Within the government this concept needs to be more widely accepted and applied more vigorously and consistently. Inadequacy in dealing with the intangible elements in our foreign policies under present and prospective world conditions can be just as fatal to their outcome as inadequacy in dealing with the more traditional and tangible aspects.

This does not mean that foreign opinion considerations should determine or control U.S. policies or objectives, nor that our actions should be ornamented with public relations gimmicks, nor that we must solicit constant foreign approval and inevitably recede in the face of criticism. It does mean that we must show a "decent respect to the opinions of mankind" in what we do. Since our objectives must not be popularity but long-term and durable relationships of friendship, understanding and respect, we must stand firmly on principle regardless of temporary storms of disapproval, and in doing so make our actions comprehensible to our friends and clear in their implications to our enemies.

In the long run, a nation like an individual achieves stature and exercises leadership not by avoiding criticism and seeking to please but by its character, strength and goodness of heart.

The United States must demonstrate by actions as well as by words that we are militarily invincible yet supremely devoted to peace; that we are zealous in our support of the aspirations of other nations and respectful of their sovereignty; and that we are a progressive society actively in support of progressive change, greater material well-being and social justice everywhere.

These purposes must be translated at the highest level of government into concrete, dramatic and timely form. This labor of giving active support to the ideas which will reach the hearts and minds of people around the earth is an important part of the task associated with the term, "leadership of the Free World".

II. STRENGTHENING THE U. S. INFORMATION SYSTEM

The Committee has studied both the foreign informational programs of the U.S. Government (including mass media, exchanges of various types, cultural and educational programs) and those programs designed to expose and combat Communist attempts to subvert the countries of the Free World.

This broad spectrum of activities, which we have called the U.S. information system, constitutes roughly one per cent of the approximate total of \$50 billion spent annually for national security.

In Western Europe the scale of U.S. information activity has been substantially reduced in recent years. This process of reduction has gone as far as it prudently should, except in the case of certain exchange programs. It is of the utmost importance that the people of this area understand American objectives, have confidence in our leadership and cooperate actively in mutual undertakings.

In the Soviet Bloc we must take every opportunity to provide the populations with information in hope of lessening to some degree the hostility and aggressiveness of their governments.

Communist China presents a baffling and threatening problem for official information activity. Sustained government-wide action must be developed to prepare long-range plans, to mobilize available resources and to formulate new approaches to communicate with the Chinese people who are being subjected to the most massive "Hate America" campaign in all history.

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In the less developed areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the United States faces certain common information tasks. In the face of the sweeping social, economic and political revolution now underway, we must: identify ourselves with the forces of progress toward stable and democratic institutions; expose and counter insofar as possible the multi-faceted Sino-Soviet offensive against orderly development of these areas; provide effective close support through informational means to U. S. development programs; as well as explain U. S. policies, objectives and way of life.

In Africa, the pace of political developments has outstripped our informational preparations. We lack basic knowledge of the processes by which information and ideas are communicated within these societies; we lack sufficient information specialists trained in the languages and cultures; we lack sufficient physical facilities; and we lack contacts. In the judgment of the Committee, Africa presents the United States with a challenging opportunity to build friendly ties. The Committee recommends a drastic and prompt upward revision of all plans, estimates and preparations for information activities appropriate to the area.

In Latin America the immediate outlook is more disturbing than promising. U. S. economic policy in the hemisphere has undergone recent modification and strengthening, but informational activities have not been equally reinforced. Greater efforts are needed.

Countering Communist Subversion

In addition to mass media activities, there is need for programs of action to counter the international Communist threat. We should continue and increase our efforts to aid those who are threatened by Communist subversion.

Budget

We have reviewed the requirements for informational activities abroad based upon our appraisal of the current world situation and estimates of probable developments over the next decade. In comparing these requirements with present informational programs, we have concluded that there is a growing need for greater effort generally, and an urgent need for substantially increased efforts in the critical areas of Latin America and Africa. These increases are over and above those required to meet the rising costs of current programs and to provide adequate representation in the newly independent countries of the world.

The extent to which information budgets should be increased in future years can best be determined in light of changing circumstances. However, it is likely that the scale of the total U. S. information effort will have to be progressively expanded for some time to come. The Committee urges that, if and when such expansion is contemplated, the Executive Branch seek Congressional approval for planned and orderly growth of these activities.

Because speed and flexibility of operations are essential to effective information programs, the Committee recommends that adequate contingency funds be appropriated. As a minimum, adequate flexibility to transfer between accounts must be provided.

American efforts to develop contact with influential elements abroad should not be diminished by niggardly allowances for official hospitality. The Committee recommends that renewed efforts be made to obtain Congressional approval for adequate representation funds.

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Structure

Training and Personnel

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The Committee recommends that more attention be given to training of informational specialists in media techniques and in the relevant behavioral sciences.

For a variety of reasons, information work in government has not always been able to attract and hold enough of the talented people required. Limitations and uncertainties of career opportunities have been important factors. The Committee therefore endorses the need for legislation which would establish a career service for USIA personnel. Such a service, in addition to raising and stabilizing the status of information specialists, should be flexible enough to insure acquisition and cultivation of creative and original talents.

Beyond these steps, there is need to provide high-level training in the interrelated economic, political, informational and military aspects of the present world struggle for more of the top officers of agencies dealing with international and security affairs. The Committee therefore recommends that consideration be given to the establishment of a National Security Institute for this purpose under the National Security Council, which among other things would provide concentrated exposure to and study of Communist ideology, techniques and operations world-wide as well as of our total governmental informational resources and how best to orchestrate and use them. If it is judged infeasible to create a separate National Security Institute, consideration should be given to broadening the character of existing training institutions and agency training programs to meet these needs.

Research

Knowledge is lacking about some of the major factors which can determine the success or failure of informational efforts. The Committee recommends that the various agencies involved in foreign informational programs re-examine the adequacy of their research programs. In such re-examination, they should draw upon the best available advice from private sources.

III. EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL, AND EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES

The Committee believes that great and as yet insufficiently realized opportunities are offered by educational, cultural, and exchange programs. Changing world conditions are generating a particularly rapid expansion of needs in these fields.

In developing these programs we have not yet adequately capitalized on our cultural and intellectual resources, our educational traditions and institutions and even our language itself. There is need for new emphasis and for substantial increase in levels of effort. We can thereby serve effectively several objectives. Educational, exchange and cultural programs over the long run can strengthen our political ties abroad, re-enforce our economic assistance programs, advance social development and stability, and add to our chances for peace and security.

Ultimately, the development of the human resources of the less developed areas through education and training may be the most effective form of economic assistance which can be given. At the same time strengthened cultural, exchange and education efforts will help correct a widespread distortion of the American image. Such action will put into perspective alongside our military, political, economic and technical programs our enduring concern for the individual and for learning. We will demonstrate meaningfully our understanding of the relationship between education, democracy and social progress.

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The activities which can contribute to these ends are what much of the world wants us to provide. Our techniques are respected and sought. Increasing numbers of foreign students are attending our universities. English is increasingly recognized as one of the pre-eminent languages of this era and people seek by the tens of thousands to learn it.

Foreign Educational Development*

Through various programs and agencies, the U.S. Government is already providing considerable help to education and training abroad, particularly to persons in the less developed countries. These programs, though valuable, are diffuse and frequently not readily identifiable with the United States. They are subordinate elements of agencies and activities directed principally to other things. They have no single voice or general leadership. They are not based on a coherent and avowed over-all policy or legislative enactment. They therefore fail in large part to realize their great symbolic value in identifying the United States clearly with one of the universal human ideals -- education.

The Committee feels there is need to move with conviction in giving new accent to our assistance to foreign education. This should be made concrete in the form of a new declaration of policy in support of long-term assistance to foreign educational development by the President and the Congress.

The proposed program might include the continuation or initiation of such projects as the following:

1. Assistance in building and equipping model schools, laboratories and libraries as visible symbols of American help;
2. The creation of new regional institutions and training centers in public administration, agricultural technology and the management of enterprises;
3. The development of large mobile training centers to provide basic skills in health, agriculture, and mechanical trades to thousands of trainees at a time;
4. The mounting of experiments in the use of television to spread literacy and teach basic skills on a large scale;
5. The contribution of funds for "opportunity scholarships" to enable talented young people from all social classes in some of the less developed countries on the basis of open competition to acquire an education in their own country;
6. A major program for the training of teachers from the less developed countries and the establishment of teacher training institutes in those countries.
7. A program of training and orientation for young Americans who would spend a period abroad performing basic tasks such as teaching in elementary schools, working in the civil service, and acting as staff assistants in village development programs.

To carry out such a program one possible approach would be the creation of a new quasi-independent Foundation for International Educational Development. Such a body could give the program visibility and leadership and help to link together government, university and private foundation efforts.

* Mr. Gray and Mr. Merchant have certain reservations on this section. Their comments appear on page 18.

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An adequate program of assistance to foreign educational development will require substantial funds over and above those currently available for such purposes.

International Meetings and Awards

Most international scholarly gatherings take place outside the United States. Few of the major international festivals in the fine arts take place here, and even fewer of the major world prizes for intellectual and creative achievements are American. Our national capitol in the eyes of many is regarded, from a cultural standpoint, as a provincial town.

Our achievements in the arts and in scholarship deserve better than this. The Committee recommends:

1. The establishment of a continuing series of international festivals and exhibitions of the arts in the United States, including if necessary governmental subsidy of transportation and facilities.
2. Development in Washington of a cultural center to include operatic and ballet presentations, symphony concerts, and special competitions in the arts.
3. A permanent increase in the number of major international meetings in the United States in the humanities, social sciences, philosophy, the exact sciences and the fine arts. In some instances, this may require selective relaxation of visa requirements as well as governmental and private assistance in lessening the economic obstacles involved.
4. The establishment of a series of major American awards for outstanding achievements by men and women of all nations in science, art, education, government and human welfare.

English Language Teaching

There now exists around the world a vast and spontaneous demand for learning English. The Committee believes that it would be both feasible and advantageous to intensify the governmental efforts now being made to teach English to people of other nations. In so doing we will facilitate the transmission of technical information and skills useful to economic development. We will widen our channels of communication with foreign leadership elements. We will expose increasing numbers of people to the social and political ideals of Western civilization. We will as a consequence of these benefits reinforce our ties throughout the world.

The Committee recommends that we explore the possibilities of more massive and short-term efforts -- in parallel with long-term programs -- to achieve a rapid increase in the number of foreign students and adults able to use English as a working tool. These might involve the use of new techniques of teaching by television, and the development of a large and dramatic program using gifted American college students and teachers of English to conduct "summer language camps" each year in selected foreign areas. We should also collaborate more closely with other English speaking countries in the extension and coordination of these efforts.

Exchange of Persons Programs

The U.S. Government is extensively engaged in exchange of persons programs and the training of foreign specialists and leaders in this country.

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These activities lack a clear framework of over-all policy and require better arrangements for the handling of exchangeees once they arrive here.

The Committee recommends that official exchange of persons programs be progressively expanded (except for Western Europe); and that priority be assigned to exchanges of students, specialists and leaders from Africa.

To make possible more effective handling of exchangeees, funds will be required:

1. To expand and strengthen our specialized agencies which administer foreign student and leader exchanges.
2. To create an adequate nation-wide system, based on the voluntary help of local citizens and groups, for hospitality to foreign visitors.
3. To provide special guidance and courses tailored to meet the needs (often very different from those of the American student) of students from the less developed countries.

Exchanges with the Soviet Bloc countries and the programs of reciprocal exchanges as provided under the U.S.-USSR Exchange Agreement should be continued, with such expansion and governmental financing as may be appropriate.

IV. ECONOMIC AID, SCIENTIFIC AND MILITARY PROGRAMS

U.S. economic assistance programs, scientific research and development agencies, and the military establishment exert enormous influence upon foreign opinion as a result of their activities. The Committee has considered means by which the constructive impact of these non-information programs on foreign opinion might be increased.

Foreign Economic Assistance

In the decade of the 1960's, the demand upon the United States for economic assistance will undoubtedly increase. The need will be concentrated in the less developed areas, not in the industrially advanced countries as in the immediate postwar years. Aid will be concerned with modernizing total societies, not with the relatively simple labor of economic rehabilitation and reconstruction. Aid programs will pursue their objectives in a seething atmosphere of tension, turmoil and misunderstanding.

In many of the countries in which our aid programs will operate, we find practically none of the elements required for the development of the conditions we seek to promote. These countries in many cases are characterized by strong feelings of nationalism, impatience with the slow processes of economic growth, and lack of skills to deal with the technical and managerial functions of a twentieth century state. Omnipresent and alert to every possibility of disrupting constructive effort is the Sino-Soviet Bloc with its growing programs for subversion, economic warfare, propaganda and intimidation.

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It is therefore not only relevant but indispensable to give the most careful attention to public opinion and informational matters in the formulation and execution of aid programs. However, the purpose of such attention should be to facilitate the achievement of the goals of economic development, not to arouse extraneous sentimental manifestations. Informational targets must be set in accord with functional requirements, not out of sentiment or belief in publicity for its own sake. The attitudinal obstacles to the adoption of better methods of production and distribution should be understood. Procedures and policies which unnecessarily generate friction or misunderstanding must be modified.

In the long run, we can hope, by giving aid, to strengthen ties of mutual respect and cooperation. But it is naive to think that our aid programs -- affecting as they do basic social and economic institutions in the recipient countries -- will be or can be universally understood and applauded.

As a result of the establishment in the Department of State of the Office of the Coordinator of the Mutual Security Program, greater attention is now being given to public opinion and informational matters in the formulation of assistance programs. Within individual aid agencies, however, administrators must give greater attention to these factors in the presentation and execution of their programs.

The transfer of responsibility for foreign publicity about U. S. aid programs to USIA in 1953 resulted in a gain of coherence and coordination of over-all U. S. foreign information activity. But the cost has been a loss of focus and vigor in informational support of aid programs. The Committee recommends that USIA intensify markedly its efforts in this direction and give particular attention to the recruitment and in-service training of personnel dealing with economic information.

In addition, the Committee recommends:

1. The most vigorous Presidential and other high-level effort on a continuing basis to strengthen U. S. domestic understanding and support for our economic assistance programs.
2. The steps being taken to coordinate our many and diverse foreign economic programs, including the attribution to the Under Secretary of State of special responsibilities in this regard, are proving valuable and should be continued. The multiplicity of agencies concerned with foreign assistance makes excessively difficult the task of linking U. S. aid to a common set of goals.
3. Full consideration in both the formulation and execution of foreign aid programs of their impact on opinion abroad. Opinion factors will normally be of secondary importance in the selection of aid projects and the determination of aid procedures. But in every policy decision, these factors need to be carefully weighed.

Scientific and Technological Programs

A startlingly new development in recent years has been the increasing impact of scientific and technological achievement upon world opinion. Without question the launching of the first Sputnik gave the Soviet Union a psychological triumph which has profoundly affected its image as a technically advanced nation and as a great military power. Its feat in one branch of technology has been systematically exploited -- and with considerable success -- as evidence of the dynamism of the entire Soviet system.

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The United States has had, and continues to have, over-all superiority in science and technology. Nevertheless, since the launching of Sputnik I there has been considerable evidence of a widespread belief that Soviet capability continues to grow relative to that of the United States and that the Soviet Union leads in certain important aspects of space technology. It will not be easy, short of some revolutionary scientific breakthrough, to re-establish the degree of American technological prestige relative to that of the USSR which existed prior to October 1957.

The Committee feels that, since throughout the world the status of the nation's science is increasingly taken as a measure of its power and dynamism, two things are indispensable: (1) that the U. S. maintain its continuing stream of scientific and technological achievements; and (2) that these achievements be more effectively communicated to the world than has been the case in the past.

The Committee recommends:

1. That the scale and effectiveness of our overseas information efforts to communicate the facts of U. S. scientific achievements be increased. This will require particular attention to the recruitment and training of qualified information specialists who are at the same time competent in technical subject matter.

In stressing the need for more vigorous informational support of scientific programs, it is important also to caution that premature publicity and "leaks" that appear to promise more or quicker technical progress than can practically be realized can prove most injurious to U. S. prestige.

2. These increased efforts should be designed to improve our communications both with scientific elites and with the general public.

3. Recent organizational measures to give new prominence to the role of science in our government have indirectly been of value to informational activities abroad. The Committee would like to cite particularly the establishment of the offices of President's Assistant for Science and Technology and of Science Adviser to the Secretary of State, and the appointment of science attaches at our principal embassies abroad. Further development of these activities can help improve understanding abroad of our progress in science and technology.

4. Where particular needs are identified, agencies of government participating in technical assistance should be asked to expand and intensify certain programs for teaching and transmitting American technical knowledge. This is already being done on a large scale in the field of agricultural technology. Other possibilities would appear to exist in the field of medicine and in new teaching techniques such as educational television.

The dramatic and highly useful curriculum developments in the various fields of science education should be exported in a planned, coordinated program involving the several agencies concerned with foreign information, education and exchange of scientific knowledge. Making available developments in science education would have the twofold value of providing genuinely useful materials to countries that need them and at the same time demonstrating American advances in technical and scientific fields.

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5. Joint scientific and technological programs with other countries of the Free World should be encouraged.

The best assurance of a continued flow of major scientific discovery which will serve the broad spectrum of human needs and thereby the nation's prestige abroad is ample unprogrammed financial support for basic research. At the same time, the Committee recommends that the President bring to the attention of government scientific administrators and those responsible for budgetary allocations to scientific research, the relevance, propriety and importance of taking world opinion into account in determining the relative emphasis to be given to various activities.

Military Programs and Policies

The American military establishment is a huge and powerful system to protect the nation in the event of war. In the course of protracted conflict short of war -- which is the prospect -- it will also exert enormous and continuing influence in every part of the world in behalf of the objectives of U. S. foreign policy.

It will exert such influences primarily by the reality of its military power -- its forces and weapons -- but also through many important side-effects: the presence of hundreds of thousands of service men and their families on foreign soil, its relationships with foreign leaders and military personnel, and its expenditures abroad. The Department of Defense and the armed services have made considerable progress in recognizing the importance of these side-effects. Measures which the Department of Defense has taken to deal with these matters should be continued and intensified, particularly among the lower echelons of command.

However, if we are to maximize the potential non-military benefits which can be obtained as a by-product of military activities, military personnel at all levels will require greater understanding of the role which the armed forces should play in this undertaking. The Committee believes that additional measures should be taken to create a greater awareness of the non-military implications of military activities, a better understanding of the importance of these implications and an increased knowledge of what can be done by the armed forces to enhance the positive and reduce the negative side-effects of their essential activities.

In the present world situation, two of the primary tasks of the armed forces must be to deter aggression and to hold the respect and confidence of our friends and allies. Achievement of these objectives depends fundamentally on the reality of our military power. However, it cannot be assumed that they will automatically be realized on the basis of purely military considerations, since deterrence and reassurance are accomplished not through the application of military force but through the image of our military power held by foreign peoples and their leaders. The Committee believes that those responsible for our military force posture and strategy must continue to be fully aware of the importance of psychological and informational considerations and give these factors due weight in their decisions.

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V. NEW DIMENSIONS OF DIPLOMACY

In some historic periods deed shifts in the mission and style of diplomacy occur. We seem now to be in such a period. The changes taking place reflect technological developments in transport and communications, and the growing role of public opinion in world affairs. In addition, the persistence of the ideological, economic and strategic struggle with the Communist world imposes new challenges to our diplomacy. The whole Soviet system from the beginning has placed great stress on propaganda, both at home and abroad. In the next ten years, the conduct of our foreign relations and the organization of our diplomacy will have to cope with the various aspects of this encompassing struggle, including the propaganda and the psychological, particularly in its transference to new arenas in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In both the new countries and the older ones going through the crisis of modernization, formal and traditional diplomacy of the predominantly government-to-government type often plays a limited role. This means that our diplomacy increasingly must understand public opinion in all countries, open and closed, old and new, and must give greater emphasis to this factor in the handling of conferences and negotiations, in the selection and training of members of the foreign services, and in our treatment of foreign visitors.

American diplomatic representatives abroad should make a greater effort to develop close and friendly contacts with all key leadership groups. Dealings with all major sources of influence in foreign societies will be of increasing importance in years to come.

Visits to other countries by the President or the Secretary of State can have extraordinary value in terms of impact on foreign opinion. The greatest care should be exercised in deciding the timing and detailed arrangements of such visits.

A renewed effort should be made to reduce the size of certain of our missions abroad, particularly in countries where elements attached to the embassy are disproportionately large.

Major Negotiations

Major diplomatic conferences and negotiations now require more careful planning and preparation than ever before, in part because our adversaries commonly try to convert them into propaganda jousts. Such preparations and negotiations now must be conducted simultaneously on two levels: the laborious, intricate process of negotiations between governments, and the continuous effort to build public support for our proposals.

The United Nations

Since the inception of the United Nations, debates in that body have dramatized major international issues and given an additional dimension to diplomacy. The UN has been important not only as a means of discussing issues and, on occasion, of settling disputes, but also as a sounding board.

The United States, in continuing its support for the UN, should make the fullest use of UN meetings, including those of specialized agencies, to launch major new plans and proposals and to state its position on issues of enduring importance.

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In the makeup of delegations to the United Nations and of assignment of U. S. personnel to UN affiliated organizations, careful attention should be given to the ability of the representatives to deal effectively on the informational front. Experience in international conference work and training for it should be more widespread in our services, especially the Foreign Service.

Greater emphasis should be given to UN affairs by U. S. Government information media and to dealings with the press to explain U. S. positions.

Far greater attention should also be given to the responsibilities and opportunities of the United States as "host" to the UN. As the most recent session of the General Assembly has demonstrated, the impact on the delegates from the new states of their reception, housing and general treatment is a factor of real importance.

Arms Control

Today the world is on the threshold of an important new era in arms control negotiations. The Committee recommends that the U.S. make more timely informational preparations to communicate its proposals and objectives. Heads of U.S. delegations to such negotiations should provide full and frequent background briefings for the world press. All statements by government officials bearing on the question of arms control must be effectively coordinated, especially during a period of negotiation.

Visitors To The U. S.

The Committee believes that better arrangements are needed for welcoming both foreign dignitaries and ordinary visitors to the United States. In the case of the former, additional funds are required for protocol and official hospitality. Efforts must be stimulated to provide imagination and some pageantry in the reception of chiefs of state and high-level dignitaries. Consideration should be given to the utility of consultative citizens' committees for this purpose.

Measures should also be taken to improve the reception of tourists, businessmen, students and other ordinary visitors at U.S. ports of entry. Although somewhat lightened and humanized in recent years, the procedures of our various port authorities remain more rigorous than those in most other countries. We suggest that the sensitivities and reactions of the foreign visitors, whose image of America is sharply affected by their arrival experiences, be given greater weight in determining the methods, manners and procedures of our receiving officials.

VI. INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

In total, the greater part of the influences emanating from the United States and affecting opinion abroad result from private, not governmental, activity. The free and uninhibited contact of an open society with the rest of the world contrasts sharply with that of totalitarian systems. The Committee believes that private activities abroad have importance in a generalized way to the world's image of America and that they contribute significantly to international understanding -- and misunderstanding. However, private international activity is not a substitute for sustained and systematic informational activity by the government.

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Business Firms Abroad

The climate of opinion for foreign investment is deteriorating in many areas where the need is greatest. To counteract this requires a determined effort by business and government. The necessary business associations exist, such as the Business Council for International Understanding and the International Chamber of Commerce, to give leadership.

Individual firms are commendably beginning to face their responsibilities for good corporate citizenship abroad. Such progress should continue at an accelerated rate. There should be more vigorous Government efforts to encourage the best practices by American firms abroad. More companies should develop community relations programs abroad as they do at home.

Labor Organizations

American labor organizations provide a uniquely acceptable channel of communication with their counterparts abroad and they have become increasingly involved in world affairs. Whether their response has been adequate to the challenge is a matter of some dispute. However, what they have done in countering the spread of Communism in labor organizations abroad is to be commended.

Universities

As world affairs become more important to the nation and as our international involvements increase, the demands upon our universities for training, research and operational support for governmental programs likewise grow. The Committee feels that it would be highly desirable to clarify and strengthen the role of a single agency of the government to deal with our universities on the over-all and long-range policy questions presented by the requirements of the various governmental agencies working abroad. Likewise, it would seem desirable for the universities themselves to bring into existence a permanent council to deal with fundamental problems of government-university relationships.

Private Foundations

The international activities of private foundations provide an important and independent channel of American communication with influential scientific, cultural and academic leaders abroad. The Committee believes that foundations can make no more vital contribution to the national welfare than by activity abroad in their fields of special competence, and it urges the trustees of all foundations not barred by charter or other legal inhibitions to consider seriously such activity. The independence of action of foundations is to be valued and protected. However, effective communication and consultation between Government and the foundations working overseas is increasingly important.

International Sporting Competitions

The Soviet Union obviously attaches considerable propaganda importance to international sporting events. It spends large resources and marshals hundreds of thousands of its youth to dedicate themselves at governmental expense to become international sporting champions.

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Some Soviet sporting victories have had certain propaganda value. But the Committee believes that the problem does not justify any fundamental departure from the established American practice of participating in the Olympic Games and other international competitions on a private and amateur basis. However, the situation does underscore the importance to our standing abroad of the work of the President's Committee on Youth Fitness and the role of the armed forces in the physical development of our youth. It would seem worthwhile if many of our institutions, including our schools, were to encourage development of greater skills in the athletic events in which the United States has a demonstrated weakness.

The News Media

The freedom and independence of U. S. news media are rooted in basic principles of our democracy. These private commercial enterprises are, however, clothed with a public interest and responsibility.

On a world-wide basis, the two main problems which the news media present are:

- a. The needs of the less developed areas in building up the competence and objectivity of their media as literacy and political interest develop.
- b. The obstacles which exist to the international flow of news, particularly between the Soviet Bloc and the Free World, but also within certain Free World areas.

The Committee recommends:

1. That, under the leadership of the Department of State, all Government agencies increase their assistance to foreign correspondents in the United States to enable them to report more fully on and to develop a better understanding of America, and that private organizations and corporations be encouraged to do likewise.
2. That the United States continue to provide to the world an example of freedom in access to and the transmission of news; and that it demonstrate vigorous interest in promoting the rights of the news media to freedom of travel for correspondents and freedom from censorship.
3. That there be parallel efforts by private media, professional journalistic bodies, foundations and government to help strengthen the news media in the less developed countries, to develop standards of journalistic objectivity and the competence of personnel.

International Television

The Committee recommends that a coordinated government-wide policy be developed to guide and extend U. S. participation in the future overseas expansion of television broadcasting.

Also, it recommends that under the leadership of the State Department steps be taken now to develop policies to clarify the roles of the U. S. Government and private broadcasters in international telecasting and to plan international proposals for frequency allocations which would prevent chaos on the airwaves once international telecasting begins.

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Books and Publications

In a time of new technical marvels of communications, the importance of the printed page in the transmission of information and ideas remains fundamental.

The Committee recommends the continuation of the Informational Media Guaranty program and, where feasible, its extension to cover additional areas where the shortage of dollar exchange continues to be a serious hindrance to the distribution of American books and publications.

VII. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONIntra-Agency Organization

The Committee recommends that the President reaffirm to all departments and agencies the importance of adequately considering foreign opinion factors in the formulation of policies and the execution of programs which have impact abroad; that he request the Departments of State and Defense to continue and re-enforce the efforts already made to this end; and that he ask the heads of other departments and agencies to take whatever organizational or procedural steps may be necessary in this connection, leaving to their discretion the determination of the particular methods to be used.

The Role of the OCB

The coordination of information activities in the general structure of the U. S. Government is a formidable problem. They are conducted by a number of different departments and agencies, and they are both diverse in character and substantial in scale. Even more complex is the task of integrating psychological factors in substantive programs affecting opinion abroad.

The creation of the Operations Coordinating Board in September 1953, represented a major step forward in improving the effectiveness of U. S. psychological and informational activities. Although the activities of the Board have been the subject of continuing debate, there can be no question that it has performed and continues to perform a number of vital functions in the coordination of informational activities and the integration of psychological factors in substantive programs of the government.

The weekly executive sessions of the Board provide its members with a unique and high-level mechanism in the government for the expeditious and effective handling of a whole spectrum of inter-agency matters including those related to the climate of world opinion. Its working groups and committees carry on part of the continuing task of inter-agency coordination of information programs. Most important, the OCB is a point high in the governmental structure where security programs and policies are considered in relation to their public opinion as well as other aspects.

In the judgment of the Committee it is essential that, whatever changes may be made in national policy machinery, the functions now performed by OCB continue to be provided for.

We believe that the most effective means for insuring the continuation of these functions, particularly those related to public opinion and informational matters, is through the continued existence of the OCB.

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If the OCB did not exist, it would have to be invented; its creation was the logical outgrowth of the increase in U. S. information activities up to 1953, as well as of the growing importance of public opinion and communications in foreign affairs.

Furthermore, we believe that the OCB not only should be continued but that its potentialities should be more fully recognized and realized. In accomplishing this, continuing strong Presidential interest in making the OCB effective is the crux of the matter.

The OCB should further stimulate and coordinate planning by the various elements of the U. S. information system. This requires greater attention to anticipating major opportunities and problems, identifying the requirements for trained personnel and physical facilities on the scale and at the time needed to deal with upcoming situations, and mobilizing all the informational assets of the government in support of national objectives.

In the areas of foreign educational development, exchange of persons, English language teaching, exhibits and trade fairs, and radio and television, there is need for increased integration and coordination of current efforts.

The Committee believes that it is important to achieve program evaluations of a more objective and critical character than has been the case in the past. There is some question whether such evaluations, given the understandable concerns and perspectives of operating agency representatives, can be most effectively accomplished through the committee approach. Nevertheless this Committee firmly believes that the responsibility rests with the Board itself, and that the Board members should give greater attention to meeting it.

SUPPLEMENTAL COMMENTS OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

Individual members of the Committee have expressed the following supplemental views:

1. With respect to the Committee's conclusions on page 5 concerning the structural relations between the Department of State and USIA, Mr. Reed wishes to have noted that:

As a member of the U. S. Advisory Commission on Information, he is on record as favoring a single separate agency to operate the exchange and information programs of our Government now lodged in the Department of State and USIA.

2. With respect to the Committee's proposal of an enlarged program for foreign educational development on page 7, Mr. Gray has the following comment, with which Mr. Merchant desires to be associated:

"I am in agreement with the other members of the Committee as to the importance of the activities discussed in this section. It is conceivable that an emphasis on foreign educational development as discussed in this chapter could become a matter of major importance to the interests of the United States. I agree that a new declaration of policy in support of foreign educational development by the President and the Congress would be of powerful assistance. My difficulties with the program suggestions are that they are imprecise, largely open-ended, and need further definition as to scope and timing.

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"I also have some difficulty with the new quasi-independent Foundation for International Educational Development. I am not convinced that it is a practical suggestion and feel that it needs further consideration. For the programs the United States administers directly it seems important that all types of aid be closely coordinated on a country basis rather than fragmented into specialized functional agencies such as education, health, agriculture, industry, etc. Furthermore, it is very probable that the U. S. may want to continue to provide some assistance for educational programs through the United Nations, especially to the new countries in Africa."

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